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## "A Guard of Faithful Sentinels" The Know-Nothing Appeal in Maine, 1854-1855

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"A GUARD OF FAITHFUL SENTINELS"  
THE KNOW-NOTHING APPEAL IN MAINE, 1854-1855

Born in Westbrook on October 30, 1824, Asa Dalton traced back to the first generation of New England Puritans his family's devotion to the pursuit of religious truth and freedom of conscience.<sup>1</sup> Philemon Dalton, a Cambridge University graduate in 1616, sailed to Massachusetts Bay in 1635 with his brother, the Reverend Timothy Dalton, who had protested the cruel suppression of religious freedom in England by the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud. During the celebrated Great Migration of the 1630s and early '40s, the brothers and other family members overcame rustic adversity to help found Dedham, Massachusetts, and Hampton, New Hampshire. Four generations later during the Revolutionary era, another independent-minded Dalton clergyman resisted coercion — this time, intimidation by American patriots — through moving to frontier Parsonfield in the District of Maine rather than compromise his Loyalist beliefs. If other Daltons in colonial New England did not achieve the celebrity or notoriety of these bold settlers and divines, a like-minded, hardy resolve nevertheless imbued their less dramatic lives spent along the northeastern frontier.

Asa Dalton's own commitment to personal freedom drew sustenance from his boyhood spent in liberal and cosmopolitan Cambridge, Massachusetts. There, his widowed mother and other relatives adopted the humanitarian tenets of William Ellery Channing, the saintly leader of American Unitarianism, Asa's education in Harvard's class of 1848, in which he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, came toward the end of that celebrated university's golden era as a beacon of Unitarian influence.

Young Dalton nevertheless diverged from Unitarianism to espouse evangelical Protestantism. After a year of graduate study at the Harvard Divinity School, he transferred to the Andover Newton Seminary, which had been established by orthodox religionists two score years earlier when Harvard embraced the new liberalism.<sup>2</sup> He further demonstrated his spiritual orientation by accepting the pastorate at Augusta's First Baptist Church, in which he was ordained and installed on September 24, 1851.<sup>3</sup> While sensitively performing his ministerial duties, the amiable and studious young clergyman gained additional distinction in Maine's capital city from his frequent lectures on public affairs which revealed a considerable interest in history, literature, and nature, as well as in theology.<sup>4</sup>

Two years into his pastorate, however, the Reverend Dalton's critical cast of mind and striving for religious truth led him to question fundamental Baptist tenets requiring baptism by immersion and communion restricted to only the regenerate.<sup>5</sup> Finding himself increasingly attracted to Episcopalian doctrines, Dalton submitted his resignation which the church accepted on July 2, 1854.<sup>6</sup>

In reflecting upon what topic to choose for his farewell message, Dalton decided not to address church doctrines, parish conditions, or his own spiritual questionings. Instead, he determined to devote his valedictory sermon on July 9 to his alarm about a contemporary social crisis in the United States: the growing nativist crusade against foreigners, especially Irish-Catholics, that was being waged by a secret organization known as "Know-Nothings" and being agitated by scurrilous demagogic orators called street-preachers.<sup>7</sup>

Nativist violence was erupting across Maine and the entire northeastern United States even as Dalton drafted

his remarks. In Ellsworth, for instance, religious and ethnic bitterness between native-stock and immigrant townspeople had evolved over the past eight months from Catholic protests against required student reading of the Protestant King James Bible in town schools. Throughout June and early July the local Cast-Iron Band, composed of nativist toughs, nightly marched through Irish neighborhoods to terrorize individuals, stone shanties, desecrate the newly-constructed Catholic meetinghouse, and blow the roof off Maine's only Catholic school.<sup>8</sup>

In Portland, rumor after rumor about supposed Catholic plots circulated among Protestants to excite nativist anxieties. Catholics, it was reported, were assembling for secret nighttime drills with the several hundred guns and muskets stored in the basement of St. Dominic's Church in preparation for a surprise uprising against local Protestants. Secret Irish military companies were allegedly forming, and certain treacherous liberal Protestants were joining the conspiracy. Indeed, a brief conversation Father John O'Donnell of St. Dominic's held with a Protestant friend on a Portland street sufficed to have the latter identified as one such sympathizer. Even prominent and respected Protestants in the city were seriously deliberating imagined dark designs of Irish-Catholics; nativist councils regularly assembled to develop defensive plans.

Another rumor circulated that Father O'Donnell had just returned from Boston with large boxes overflowing with poison, which he intended to distribute to servant girls who would thus murder entire Protestant families on an already selected night to which wily Catholics referred only by a Latin password. More than a few pious and proper Protestant women believed the reports and no longer drank tea.

Father O'Donnell protested to the June 17 *State of Maine* the bigotry prevailing in the state's largest city:

Societies are formed for the avowed purpose of persecuting Irishmen. Telegraph reports, grave newspaper articles and fanatical lectures are posted in public places, read in stores and counting rooms, scattered through work-shops, particularly where the Irish are numerous, by pious Grocers to wrap up their commodities; and by consumptive school-misses, as a raw-head and bloody-bones to still noisy children. Such are a few of the many means employed to arouse the bad passions of citizen against citizen.<sup>9</sup>

Religious and ethnic harmony diminished in Portland that summer. Insults and threats attended Father O'Donnell's movements about the city. After the beginning of July, the priest dared not walk the streets after dark. On two occasions, young men threw rocks at him. If near a school at dismissal time, Father O'Donnell would be hissed and cursed by departing students encouraged by the silence and smiles of adult passersby. St. Dominic's Church itself became a target. Vandals smeared horse manure on the front door and steps, stove in panels on the door, and late one October evening threw a rock through a window in the priest's study, narrowly missing him. As the danger grew more persistent and serious, the priest on October 13 – the day before the Jesuit priest John Bapst of St. Michael's Church in Bangor was tarred, feathered, and ridden on a rail by a nativist mob in Ellsworth<sup>10</sup> – went to the Portland mayor's office to seek protection, and the city government thenceforth posted a watchman near the church each night.

A large secret nativist organization arose in Portland whose members pledged themselves to prevent the erection of any additional Catholic structures in the city. When the priest in October requested a joiner to obtain an estimate of the cost of constructing a small temporary building for church use, the workman was privately warned against trying to go forward with such a project.<sup>11</sup>

In Portland and other communities, ridiculing and condescending gibes at Irishmen and Catholics appeared regularly in newspapers to demonstrate further the

legitimacy of Asa Dalton's apprehensions in July 1854.

Such narrow-minded nativist repression, warned the Reverend Dalton, violated both Christian and American principles by attacking Catholic people as well as the declared target, allegedly erroneous doctrines. This misguided and malicious Americanism did not strive to lead victims away from supposed errors by appealing to reason and persuasion but instead proceeded through "proscription," "denunciation," "personal violence," and "burning their churches." Such tactics had received no sanction from Jesus for advancing and defending the Gospel but constituted "carnal" behavior which would actually weaken "republicanism," "Christianity," and the Constitution. The American Way prohibited a state religion, the governmental elevation of one religious sect over another, and the designation of any church "as the peculiar Viceregents of Heaven." The national Constitution established religious equality before the law with no preference for any belief; every American might freely practice his own faith.

The Reverend Dalton pointed out the many positive contributions to American life made by Catholics, who — he observed — comprised the largest religious denomination in Maine.<sup>12</sup> Catholics had served meritoriously in Congress, the cabinet, the army and navy, and the fighting forces of the American Revolution. Catholic Roger B. Taney was the current chief justice of the Supreme Court and former governor of Maryland, the state which — as a colony founded by the Catholic Calvert family in 1632 — had preceded all governments in the Western Hemisphere in establishing religious freedom. Catholic laborers had built America's railroads and highways. As in the past, so in the future would Americans depend upon Catholics and Irishmen to help the Republic achieve its noble ideals.

In addition to confronting the nativist issue on constitutional and doctrinal grounds and to demonstrating the positive contributions of Catholicism in America, Dalton maintained that Catholicism would actually benefit from persecution and Protestantism would suffer. One of Protestants' most severe criticisms against Catholicism had heretofore been the latter's resort, when in political power, to proscribe, dominate, and persecute other sects. Recent trends in America would, if continued, enable Catholics to adopt the same accusation against Protestantism. The contemporary Know-Nothing movement might now enable European Catholics to justify anti-Protestantism by confirming their claims that only their faith could prevent a nation's descent into social and civil anarchy, of which Protestantism was a natural source. Dalton curiously, or shrewdly — as a ploy to reach nativists —, claimed that Catholic thinkers wanted persecution because it would bring proselytes and advance "their ambitious design for power and supremacy." The nativist crusade would actually undermine its own goals by increasing Catholic adherents and power while plunging Protestantism into a disrepute that would be deserved unless members and leaders of those churches did not resist this pernicious development.

The Reverend Dalton's alarm singled out two particular agents of the notorious nativism: street-preachers and a secret conspiratorial organization. The street-preaching phenomenon achieved prominence throughout the northeastern United States in late 1853 and throughout 1854. Among a flock of agitating lecturers against Catholicism and the Irish that made their appearance, the most colorful and notorious was John Sayers Orr, a short, black-bearded, long-haired, fifty-two-year-old, British-Guiana-born, Scotland-reared-quadroon fanatic who, during a tour of the Middle Atlantic states, New England, and Canada from September 1853 to January

1855, spent two days in Portland early in September 1854.<sup>13</sup> Orr became popularly known – in spite of his dislike of the nickname – as “the Angel Gabriel,” because he characteristically appeared in public carrying a six-foot staff topped by British and American flags and blowing bursts on a silver bugle to summon listeners. On top of his cone-shaped hat appeared the figure of an American eagle, which in turn was surmounted by a lion and a unicorn. A ribbon atop the peak of this canvas, tricornered hat bore the proclamation, “Rule Britannia”; from the middle of the hat appeared another ribbon with the salute, “Hail Columbia”; from the brim flew a third ribbon with a message urging, “To Hell with the Pope!”<sup>14</sup> Wherever he went, the Angel Gabriel attracted large crowds of nativist supporters, angry Catholics, and merely curious spectators. When whipped up by Gabriel, or by such other fanatics as John Cluer and Daniel Pratt, Jr., in Boston and Samuel C. Moses (Gabriel’s accordion-playing assistant and secretary), Edward West, Daniel Parsons, and Margaret Bishop in New York, anti-Catholic bands went on to attack churches, vandalize Irish neighborhoods, and beat up immigrant Irishmen.

While the Reverend Dalton was preparing his valedictory sermon, thirty-five miles away in Bath an itinerant street-preacher named Brown conducted night rallies attracting crowds of two thousand. On Tuesday evening, July 6, as he spoke to a nativist gathering that spilled across the sidewalk onto the street, a horse and buggy approached. Spectators separated to permit the travelers to pass. The horse-drawn vehicle proceeded a block further down the street, stopped, turned around, and returned. Now believing the coach’s occupants were trying to break up the meeting, the spectators refused to yield their ground. Instead they rushed forward to seize the coach and its passengers, but the intruding party sped off. Someone then shouted, “To the Old South Church!”



This building, no longer the site of Congregational services, was being used by local Catholics as their place of worship. Hundreds of people stormed the church which, within minutes, was engulfed in flames that completely gutted the structure.<sup>15</sup>

These incidents and countless others — such as the destruction of Catholic churches in Raritan, New Jersey;<sup>16</sup> Dorchester, Massachusetts;<sup>17</sup> and Ellsworth, Maine; and the breaking of blinds and windows of the Catholic church in Portsmouth, New Hampshire<sup>18</sup> — demonstrated the inflammable public spirit and the accuracy of the Reverend Dalton's warnings about the actual danger and violence as well as the hatred and intolerance that street-preachers were promoting in Maine and across the entire Northeast.

The Angel Gabriel and his street-preaching cohorts were not the only agents of nativism stalking the nation. There was, reported former Whig Congressman Kenneth Rayner from North Carolina, a mysterious character known as "Sam." The sound of Sam's voice was fearsome indeed, because it caused "the shackles of party [to] drop from the hands of our people, like those of Paul and Silas at the approach of the angel." Sam trod without echo, but political demagogues and party hacks considered him as terrible as "an army without banners." Although he was not a magician, the touch of Sam's wand — like that of the spear of Ithuriel — caused "the mask to drop from the face of hypocrisy and exposed the deformity of selfishness and partisan bigotry."

"Sam" was the dutiful eldest son of "Uncle Sam," according to former Congressman Rayner. Sam had come to help his venerable father. Uncle Sam, it seems, had a sound head and an honest heart, but he was "growing old, bent in form, bowed down with the heavy burdens, which the lazy, the avaricious, the cunning and selfish, have heaped upon his shoulders, and compelled him to bear."

Rayner soared into characteristic effusion as he depicted the mighty Sam:

With all the wisdom and honesty of his sire, he possesses the boyancy [*sic*], and vigor, and the strength of youth. His muscles are elastic, and his sinews are tough. His mission is to visit every city, town and hamlet in the land. He is equally at home in the mansion of the great and the cottage of the lowly. He takes his seat at the council-board of the wise, and he ministers at the couch of the afflicted. He whispers the word of hope, which nerves the arm of the mechanic in the workshop, and walks beside the farmer as he turns up the furrows of the field.

His march is ever onward. He passes rivers at a bound, scales mountains at a leap, and through swamp and forest he never loses his way. He never stops, except to drop a tear upon the grave of some revolutionary hero, for his heart is as tender, as his nerves are strong. He watches around our dwellings when we are asleep, and slumber never weighs heavy on his eyelids. He carries in his hand the flag of his country, which has so withstood the battle and the breeze . . . .

Chattering demagogues grow dumb at his approach, and bishops' miter and Jesuits' robe fall from the head of pampered insolence and skulking knavery at his touch. . . .<sup>19</sup>

Sam was the symbol of the secretive organization formally named "the Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner." The popular designation for this order was the "Know-Nothings," so-called because each member swore to respond, "I know nothing," to non-members' inquiries about the organization.<sup>20</sup>

The Know-Nothing movement had begun in New York City in 1849 as a secret patriotic lodge. The founder was Charles B. Allen, an importer and freight agent on Battery Place in lower Manhattan.<sup>21</sup> Operating quietly during its formative years, the society had a membership of fewer than thirty men, to make it merely one of about sixty small, independent nativist groups in New York City.<sup>22</sup>

In April 1852, direction of the order passed to James W. Barker, a well-known Nassau street wholesale dry goods merchant and auctioneer<sup>23</sup> whose dynamic leadership quickly transformed the movement.<sup>24</sup> The lodge gained a thousand members during that summer, established a

New York state council, or “wigwam,” to found new chapters and recruit additional members, and spurred a nativist advance in autumn 1852 municipal elections. Its campaign strategy unfolded so secretly that other nativist groups initially received the notoriety of the election success. After Democrat Franklin Pierce’s narrow victory in the presidential election that autumn was attributed to foreign voters, many frustrated Whigs rallied to the growing nativist ranks. In addition to continuing New York State membership gains, the order by the end of 1853 developed branches in New Jersey, Maryland, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Ohio. Still, however, no central coordination linked together the various lodges of the Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner.<sup>25</sup>

Early in 1854, Barker began summoning the order’s chapters to send delegates to a May 14 convention in New York City to establish national control of the movement. When only a few delegates appeared, Barker called a second convention in June. This assembly succeeded in attracting nativist representatives from thirteen states, who proceeded to form a federal organization, set forth in a constitution adopted June 17.<sup>26</sup> Local lodges, or “twigs,” were grouped into city or county councils; the latter groups were organized into state grand councils; and these state units chose delegates who, when assembled, constituted the national grand council, which had authority to establish policies for the entire order.<sup>27</sup>

Until spring 1854, the order had not sponsored a distinct political organization. At this time of organizational revision, however, the Know-Nothings formed a political arm known as the “American Party” which began to seek out candidates for state and national government offices.<sup>28</sup>

The June convention also established a sixteen-point platform expressing the substantive goals of the Know-Nothings and their American party:

1. Repeal of all Naturalization Laws.
2. None but NATIVE AMERICANS for office.
3. A pure American Common School System.
4. War to the hilt on Romanism.
5. Opposition, first and last, to the formation of Military Companies composed of Catholics.
6. The advocacy of a sound, healthy and safe Nationality.
7. Hostility to all Papal Influences, in whatever form and under whatever name.
8. American Institutions and American Sentiments.
9. More effective and stringent Emigration Laws.
10. The amplest protection to Protestant Interest.
11. The doctrines of the revered WASHINGTON and his compatriots.
12. The sending back of all Foreign Paupers landed on our shores.
13. The formation of Societies to protect all American interests.
14. Eternal enmity to all who attempt to carry out the principles of a foreign Church or State.
15. Our Country, our school; Country, and nothing but our Country.
16. And finally — American Laws and American Legislation, and Death to all Foreign Influence whether in high places or low.<sup>29</sup>

To pursue those goals, one did not merely register in the Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner. The organization neither considered nor represented itself as only another venal political party of trimmers and office-seekers. The American order would cleanse the nation of evil. A moral elite of native Americans would purge the country of treacherous forces scheming to undermine it. Membership was accordingly sacred in this national crusade, and therefore applicants joined the Know-Nothing order in a ceremony resembling that of a fraternal lodge.

Initiates would wait in the anteroom of their lodge's meeting place until the marshal approached. This worthy would instruct them to place their hands on Bibles which he distributed and then to take an oath that they would answer truthfully eight questions asked them; they would not reveal the questions, the names of men at the meeting, and the existence of the organization. The questions

established that the applicants were at least twenty-one years old, born within the limits or jurisdiction of the United States, and neither born of, nor married to, a Catholic. Initiates would profess their belief in "the existence of a Supreme Being, the Creator and Preserver of the Universe. . . ." The last question required each candidate's promise to "use [his] influence and vote for native born American citizens for all the offices of honor or trust in the gift of the people, to the exclusion of all foreigners and aliens, of Roman Catholics in particular, and without regard to party predilections."

The initiates would then follow the marshal into the hall to be introduced to the lodge president as having met the criteria for membership. From this official, each man would take the first degree oath with his right hand on both a Bible and a cross and with his left hand pointed toward the heavens. He would swear not to reveal, nor to permit anyone else to reveal, any signs, secrets, mysteries or purposes of the order unless certain he was speaking with another member. He would not "carve, paint, stamp, stain, or in any way, directly or indirectly, expose any of the secrets or objects of this order, nor suffer it to be done by others, if in [his] power to prevent it." He would follow the majority view of the order and its American party on all social and political policies that did not violate state and federal constitutions. He would not recommend unworthy persons for membership. He would swear to resist all foreign office-seekers by supporting American-born Protestants who favored only native-born citizens holding government positions. He would agree that a violation of his oath would bring his expulsion and the circulation of his name throughout lodges of the order across the entire nation as a perjurer, a traitor to God and country, a man unfit for trust, employment, or support in any business endeavor, and a wretch at whom the finger of scorn should ever be pointed. The initiates would then sign the

lodge's constitution, record their names on the membership roll, and thus become first degree members of the Supreme Order of the Star Spangled Banner.

After a probation period of several weeks, initiated first degree members could be admitted to the second degree of the order. Only Know-Nothings of that rank could become officers in the state councils of the American party or seek political office. A second degree initiate would take another oath while resting his left hand on his right breast and extending his right hand toward an American flag that was to be festooned over the president's platform in the meeting hall. Each initiate would swear never to reveal the name, sign, passwords, and other secrets of the order. He would pledge himself to obey the rules and regulations of all branches of the movement as long as such policies did not violate state and federal constitutions; to respond whenever possible to calls or signs for help from other members; to support politically any American party member whose election was needed by the American order or the nation; and, if he himself were elected to office, to do everything legally possible to remove Catholics, foreigners, and aliens from public office and to appoint only native-born Protestants to government jobs.

The instructor of the lodge would then urge each new second degree applicant to act in every way to "move patriots to aid us in our efforts to restore the political institutions of our country to their original purity. Begin with the youth of our land. Refresh their minds with the history of our country, the glorious battles and the brilliant act of patriotism which is our common inheritance. Point them to the wise sages and profound statesmen who founded our government. Instil into their bosoms an ardent love for the Union. Above all else, keep alive in their hearts the memory, the maxims and the deathless example of our illustrious Washington." The lodge

president would then declare the initiate to be a second degree member in the order.<sup>30</sup>

In pursuing its goals, the Know-Nothing organization placed an extraordinary emphasis on secrecy. The very name of the organization provided only the first instance of this concern. To conceal important doctrines and practices within the order, Know-Nothings developed a code, substituting numbers for letters of the alphabet, for use in correspondence. Odd numbers thus represented letters in the alphabet between a and m. The number one signified a, three was b, five was c, and so on to twenty-five which was m. Even numbers represented letters n to z. Thus two was n, four was o, and twenty-six was z.<sup>31</sup> The passage “12 1 25” in one of their documents would thus refer to the Know-Nothing character “Sam.”

Know-Nothings adopted various passwords to enable a member to gain admission to specific functions of the movement. The national council adopted a general, or “travelling,” password for use by brothers away from their home states. Each state grand council determined a unique password to be used within its own area.

The order established a “sign of recognition” which would be made by one member encountering another. The first member would place “the index finger of the right hand in the space between the buttons of the coat, vest or shirt and elevating the thumb.” The second brother would acknowledge the “sign of recognition” “by placing the thumb of the right hand in the same place.”<sup>32</sup>

Know-Nothings also designated a “grip,” not to be confused with the “sign of recognition” nor the “answer.” The grip was “given in the form of a lady’s slight shake of the hand, by bringing the three fingers of the right hand in such a position as to bring the thumb slightly upon the nail of the middle finger, dropping the hand immediately when the following conversation ensues – the challenging

party first saying, 'WHAT TIME?' The answer — 'TIME FOR WORK!' Then the response — 'ARE YOU?' followed by the rejoinder 'WE ARE.'"

In character with the secrecy of the Know-Nothing order, its meetings were summoned as well as held in secret. Public notices of meetings would be posted no earlier than midnight and no later than a half-hour before dawn in a previously specified location. The notice would be a white paper in the form of a right triangle bearing the numerals "2, 15, 17, 14, 9." A posted red right triangle signified "suspected danger." A red right triangle with an equilateral triangular piece cut out meant "actual trouble which requires that you come prepared to meet it." If a member sought the object or location of such an assembly, he would inquire of someone who was known to be a member, "Have you seen Sam to-day?" The reply would be, "Go to [the particular place] at [the specific time]."33

The Know-Nothing movement entered Maine during the spring 1854 stage of organization and expansion in the national society. Rumors and squibs of information about the movement gradually drifted north into New England from the New York center of nativism. Beginning in March, notes about the movement and certain of its electoral successes on the East Coast between Norfolk and Boston were reprinted in Maine through newspaper exchanges. A representative example of this process came when John S. Sayward, editor of the *Bangor Whig and Courier*, reported in his March 23 issue, under the headline "Know-nothings,"

The *Salem Register* says that the 'Know-nothings,' or reformers, have full sway in the city government, as there is not a single member of last year left in any branch of the government. There seems to be a puzzle to us at this distance from the scene of action, as to what reforms these 'Know-nothings' aspire. We hear of them in various places, but so far have been unable to learn more than that they possess the ability to strike down those in office — to change the men in office, but what the change imports we have been unable to learn. The organization is a



secret one, but there must be, it seems to us, some plausible or positive good held out, in some way, to the minds of those in the secret, in order to control their votes. An organization merely for a change or even for a mere preference for men could hardly succeed and would soon blow up.

As Mainers began in March and April to learn about the Know-Nothings,<sup>34</sup> certain men seized the initiative to introduce the organization in the state. A Know-Nothing chapter was organized in Bath by early May,<sup>35</sup> and lodges in Eastport and Belfast were reported in mid-July as having been operating for some time.<sup>36</sup>

Nativism had also become a powerful force in Ellsworth and throughout Hancock County because of the controversy in the shiretown over the school committee's requirement that Catholics as well as other students should read the King James Bible in classes. After initially urging reconciliation, the ambitious and opportunistic editor of the *Ellsworth Herald*, William Chaney, had enlisted in the war and had become the leading agent of anti-Catholicism in the county. Like editor Sayward of the *Bangor Whig and Courier*, Chaney began to hear and see reports about Know-Nothingism during the spring. When his requests to Boston and New York authors, publishers, and supposed leaders in the movement brought no response, Chaney went to Boston on May 26. Over the next two weeks, he spoke with Know-Nothing leaders, learned more about the various Irish-Catholic challenges to America, and gained membership in the organization. He returned to Ellsworth on June 10 to begin organizing chapters of the movement throughout Hancock County.<sup>37</sup>

Certain interest in the Know-Nothing movement came from the associates and counselors of the Maine reform politician, Anson Peaslee Morrill.<sup>38</sup> He had broken with regular Democrats in the state by advocating the Maine Law (which would prohibit most sales of alcohol) and by espousing antislavery views. In 1854, Maine political

organizations were weakening as the Whig and Democratic parties separated into factions on such issues. The September 19, 1854, *Daily Herald* of Newburyport, Massachusetts, noted the presence in Maine of at least eighteen distinct factions: "Wild Cats, Wooly-Heads, Hunkers, Straightout Whigs, Morrill Whigs, Fusion Whigs, Anti-Fusion Whigs, Fusion Democrats, Morrill Temperance Democrats, Nebraska Wild-Cat Democrats, Anti-Nebraska Old Line Democrats, Anti-Nebraska Anti-Morrill Democrats, Freesoilers, Fusion Freesoilers, Hook and Ladder Democrats, Temperance Anti-Maine Law Democrats, Temperance Anti-Maine Law Whigs, Frank Pierce Parris Nebraska Whigs, [and] Dumb Democrats." The *Herald* acknowledged there might be additional groups; indeed, it ignored the Know-Nothings. The paper observed, "As might be supposed, so many squads, stepping out of the ranks of the leading parties and all pulling different ways, have given something of a twist to the politics of the State."<sup>39</sup> Morrill and his associates were trying to gain the governorship for him by forming a coalition of different factions. Certain of his important agents organized Know-Nothing lodges as a means of strengthening Morrill's campaign.<sup>40</sup>

A distinctive contribution to the spread of Know-Nothingism into Maine came from Edward Zane Carroll Judson, popularly known as Ned Buntline, the well-known thirty-one-year-old roguish dime novelist who had written numerous tales dramatizing his genuinely adventurous life in the navy, on the frontier, and along the border between crime and respectability in the cities.<sup>41</sup> This crude opportunist had barely escaped the lynch-rope for his involvement in a scandalous seduction in Nashville, but duels and fights had left bullets in his body. He had dabbled in nativism since the early 1840s and had spent several months in Blackwell's Island prison in New York City for his involvement in the Astor House Riot that left



Ned Buntline  
Nativist Organizer and Recruiter in Maine  
1854-1855

*From Ned Buntline's Own, Sept. 10, 1853  
(Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society)*

at least thirty-four dead and one hundred and thirty-one wounded in 1849.<sup>42</sup>

During the summer of 1853, Buntline had initiated a nativist military company known as the Guard of Liberty, because – as he explained – “foreign influence has for years been undermining our institutions, been gnawing, like the worm, at the Tree of Liberty; therefore it has become necessary to form a guard of faithful sentinels, composed of men born under the shadow of that sacred tree, to preserve it from destruction.”<sup>43</sup> This secret national military order was organized into companies, regiments, brigades, and the like, just as General Washington had formed the Revolutionary army eighty years earlier. Membership was limited to males between eighteen and sixty who were able to bear arms, who had at least one American-born parent, and who were not Catholics. Anyone who gained admission to the Guard of Liberty by concealing his actual religion, nationality, or parentage, would be tried, and – if guilty – punished, by a court martial. Each member had to own a weapon and have ammunition available. Members elected their important officers, who all had military titles. These officials then imposed a dominant control over the organization’s members. The motto of the guard was, “Deeds not words,” and its principles proclaimed, “none but Americans shall guard the outposts – we want no foreign aid or interference.”<sup>44</sup>

The lines separating nativist associations were not distinct. Buntline considered his Guard of Liberty to be the military arm of the Know-Nothing movement,<sup>45</sup> and he promoted native Americanism in its various forms without being concerned about specific organizational demarcations. Indeed, it appears that nearly all Buntline’s followers also owed allegiance to the Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner. By the end of 1853, the Guard

of Liberty numbered more than four thousand members, organized in companies throughout Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut.<sup>46</sup>

On March 27, 1854, Buntline began in Albany a tour of the Northeast to organize new companies and to lecture on, "Three Pictures in the Life of Ned Buntline; or, The Crime of Being an American."<sup>47</sup> After first touring upstate New York cities, he turned eastward into New England and entered Maine in July. He would remain fourteen months in the Pine Tree State lecturing on native Americanism and organizing his Guard of Liberty.<sup>48</sup> At the same time, working under the request of the national Know-Nothing movement, he did much to inspire curiosity about, and attract members into, the Know-Nothings.<sup>49</sup>

National and state Know-Nothing organizations also sent paid travelling agents throughout the Pine Tree State to recruit members and, when a minimum of thirteen men in a locality had joined the order, establish lodges.<sup>50</sup>

Then, too, the movement grew by word of mouth and by force of example. As chapters formed in a particular area, men in nearby towns frequently sought out, or were receptive to, organizing efforts. As a lodge developed in a town, members would turn to friends and trustworthy acquaintances to seek converts.

The resulting Know-Nothing movement in Maine had its principal support along the coast in the counties of Washington, Hancock, Waldo, Lincoln, Sagadahoc, Cumberland, and York. It also had considerable appeal in Kennebec County and in the communities along the Penobscot River stretching up to Bangor and Brewer. The American order had less, but still noticeable, support in other counties except in Aroostook, where it was almost nonexistent.

The geographical concentrations of the American order's strength are observable in the towns that elected Know-Nothing candidates to state and local government offices. In the September 6, 1854, elections to the Maine House of Representatives, self-professed Know-Nothings won in: Surry, Brooksville, Franklin, Ellsworth, and Bucksport in Hancock County; Richmond, Bath, and Topsham in Sagadahoc County; and Waterville and Hallowell in Kennebec County.<sup>51</sup>

The movement developed more slowly in York County where, one year later in September 1855, the American party won legislative seats in Buxton, Kennebunkport, Lebanon, North Berwick, and Saco.<sup>52</sup>

In town and city offices elected in March 1855, Know-Nothing slates won in Calais<sup>53</sup> and Eastport<sup>54</sup> in Washington County; Trenton, Franklin, Ellsworth, Sullivan, and Penobscot in Hancock County;<sup>55</sup> Belfast, Camden,<sup>56</sup> Prospect, and Northport in Waldo County;<sup>57</sup> Bath <sup>58</sup> and Boothbay in Lincoln County;<sup>59</sup> Richmond in Sagadahoc County; Bangor in Penobscot County;<sup>60</sup> Atkinson in Piscataquis County;<sup>61</sup> Freeport in Cumberland County; and Biddeford in York County.<sup>62</sup> In Palermo, South Montville,<sup>63</sup> Castine,<sup>64</sup> and Yarmouth,<sup>65</sup> Know-Nothings were reported as being very active in elections, but it is not certain that the party's candidates won.

In addition to these election results, membership figures or commentaries for lodges in certain towns exist. In Kennebec County, 300 men belonged to the Hallowell chapter, 500 in Augusta, and large numbers in Gardiner and Vassalborough.<sup>66</sup> Belfast, Lincolnville, and Belmont chapters had substantial memberships.<sup>67</sup> About 1,300 Portland members met regularly at Union Hall on Union Street.<sup>68</sup> Camden had 240 members in a lodge established on August 9, 1854, West Camden had a chapter with 30 members, Rockport's council had 100 men, and Rockland

had a sizable enrollment.<sup>69</sup> A Saco lodge numbered at least 200 members and probably many more.<sup>70</sup> A Springvale chapter organized with 18 members on August 3, 1854, and increased to 97, including some men from Sanford, by August 10, 1855.<sup>71</sup>

Although total statewide membership in the Know-Nothing organization in Maine cannot be precisely stated, reasonable estimates can be formed. The American order seems generally accurate in claiming three thousand voting supporters in Hancock County<sup>72</sup> and an equal number in Waldo County.<sup>73</sup> The *Bangor Journal*, a Whig newspaper hostile to the Know-Nothings, estimated that a state council meeting of the order in Bangor on August 29, 1854, drew delegates representing seven thousand Pine Tree members in one to two hundred chapters.<sup>74</sup> Belmont Know-Nothings comprised "Council No. 308."<sup>75</sup> Since each council or chapter was required to have at least 13 members, there must have been at least 4,004 Know-Nothings in Maine. If, however, the estimates of the *Bangor Journal* concerning the August 29, 1854, convention were accurate and the councils represented at the meeting were typical of the state movement generally, the average membership in a Maine lodge would have been 35 to 70 men. The 308 or more lodges in Maine would accordingly have had a total membership numbering from 10,780 to 21,560, and — if one considers the extraordinary strength of the order in certain of the counties and communities previously noted — the actual sum might well have been somewhat higher. Indeed, the grand scribe of the Maine organization claimed early in May 1855 — soon after the Know-Nothing movement appears to have reached its maximum membership in the state — an official roster of 27,000 men.<sup>76</sup>

Further evidence sustains this estimate. Most Know-Nothings supported Anson P. Morrill in the four-man gubernatorial race in September 1854, in which he gained

44,817 votes, a plurality of 49.5 percent of the 90,535 ballots cast.<sup>77</sup> Know-Nothings played an important part in Morrill's victorious coalition and comprised probably slightly less, but perhaps a bit more, than half his support.<sup>78</sup> Thus in the September 1854 election, probably 16 to 20 percent of Maine voters were Know-Nothings or sympathetic to the views of the order.

Although the Know-Nothing order restricted its membership to men, a Female Native American Society formed in Camden during the winter of 1854 and '55. In addition to espousing conventional nativist policies, this society emphasized the hiring as domestics of "good native American servants, of moral and intelligent characters." John McClenahan, proprietor of the *Citizen*, a New York Catholic weekly, claimed the principles of this organization were "more obnoxious than any we have yet seen emanate from a Know-Nothing Lodge." Male Know-Nothings had not actually moved beyond public policies and the search for public offices, but the female nativist society invaded "the social and domestic circle." McClenahan declared that, "For the honor of Maine we trust that this is the only society of the kind within its boundaries, and that its members are few and very old maids." The Camden organization tried to recruit additional members and chapters across the United States, but the movement proved short-lived in Camden and elsewhere, perhaps in part because its president was a man, Wellman Hall!<sup>79</sup>

Evidence obtained about the Know-Nothing in Maine sustains the observation of the September 16, 1854, *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier* that, "The order is composed mostly of the middling classes of mechanics and operatives. . . ." In Hancock County, one of the most important centers of the organization in Maine and the area where nativism has been most analyzed, Know-Nothing stalwart William Chaney found his chief recruits among "the good old



farmers, mechanics, mariners and laborers.”<sup>80</sup> Sailors were particularly ardent nativists,<sup>81</sup> and farmers were so numerous in the movement that an August 1855 Grand Rally of Hancock County Know-Nothings had to be postponed until summer haying had been completed.<sup>82</sup>

Supporters of the order, said Chaney, were “men whose faces are sweaty with labor and hands brown with toil. . . .”<sup>83</sup> Native-Americans were members of “the laboring class, and with them the dollars are not so plenty” as with their critics.<sup>84</sup> Know-Nothings did “not wear so fine cloth and have such soft hands as [their opponents]

”<sup>85</sup> “Harry of Penobscot,” a Hancock County Know-Nothing, derided upper-class Protestants for their resistance to nativism; he asked as part of a longer doggerel effort: “Who fears the taunts of grov’ling men, / Who deem themselves the ‘upper ten,’ / Though Lawyers, Merchants Doctors all / The office-seekers short or tall?”<sup>86</sup>

William Chaney himself identified with his fellow Know-Nothing workingmen: “We are a laboring man, work hard at the case, the press, bring water, saw and split our own wood, dress plainly, let our beard grow, and therefore cannot expect to be a match [for our opponents] in refinement, suavity and polish of manners. . . .”<sup>87</sup> On another occasion he acknowledged that, “A select few of the refined and sensitive among our villagers [in Ellsworth], take exception to our ‘rough and ready’ way of editing the *Herald*.” Such genteel people, he said, did not subscribe to his Know-Nothing newspaper.<sup>88</sup>

The only existing analysis of the composition of the Know-Nothing movement in Maine concerns the important community of Ellsworth. Although incomplete evidence prevents a definitive examination of that town, the available source materials confirm the populist strain revealed in the quotations just cited. An examination of four sources reveals the names of 129 Ellsworth men who were active nativists in the period from 1853 to 1856 and

did not later become identified with criticism of anti-Catholicism. The list includes those men who participated as speakers or officials in Ellsworth nativist rallies in 1854, native American candidates for state and local offices in 1854 and 1855, the signers of a March 30, 1855, statement in the *Ellsworth American* endorsing the extreme Know-Nothing policies of proprietor Chaney, and individuals identified in the journal of Joseph A. Deane, an Ellsworth lawyer, as being involved in nativist activities.<sup>89</sup> A search of 1850 and 1860 federal census records and other materials records the occupations of 116 Ellsworth nativists during the 1850s:

OCCUPATION	NUMBER OF ELLSWORTH NATIVISTS
Laborers	28 (one was a pauper in 1850; in 1860, one had become a sailor, and one was the proprietor of a livery stable)
Joiners or House Carpenters	14
Merchants	12 (by 1860, two were farmers, two were lumbermen, one was a ship owner, and one was a bookstore proprietor)
Farmers	11
Blacksmiths	6
Mariners	6 (by 1860, one was a farmer, one was a laborer, and one was a sea captain)
Sea Captains	4 (in each case, the information comes from the 1860 census; since they were young men, the sea captains may well have been mariners in 1854)
Tailors	3
Shoemakers	3
Lumbermen	2
Clerks	2
Masons	2
Machinists	2

Manufacturers	2 (the information on one man was presented in 1874)
Millwrights	2 (one was a machinist in 1860)

Each of the following occupations was represented by one participant in the Know-Nothing movement in Ellsworth: sailmakers, painters, saddlers, teachers, moulders, bakers, cabinetmakers, watchmakers, homeopathic physicians, clerks of courts, wheelwrights, and coopers. In addition, one Know-Nothing was listed in the census of 1850 as a surveyor and in 1860 as a lumberman; another man was a tinplate worker in 1850 and a merchant in 1860; and a third nativist was a shipwright in 1850 and a sea captain in 1860. Finally, William Chaney was both a lawyer and a newspaper editor in 1854.

Of the seventy-two Ellsworth citizens who owned real estate valued at over \$2,000 in 1850, seventeen were active nativists. Twenty-two nativists appeared among the 104 town residents whose combined real and personal estates totaled \$3,000 or more. Of twelve attorneys in Ellsworth in 1854, only two were active nativists; these two men were the least successful lawyers in the town. Only one of the four doctors in Ellsworth was a nativist. The absence of most of the town's merchants, sea captains, and prosperous farmers in the Know-Nothing ranks further reveals the movement's lower-class composition.

Another important aspect of this information concerns the sources of the data. The people identified were the speakers, candidates, and active supporters of nativism. It is a reasonable proposition that the rank and file of local American party members did not exceed this leadership status in occupational prestige, wealth, and social standing. Thus, the figures presented probably suggest a higher general status for the movement's membership than actually existed.

Two trends featured the seven months of gradual Know-Nothing expansion in Maine following the September 6, 1854, state election. First, the Maine council helped lead branches of the brotherhood in other Northern states in protesting policies of national Know-Nothing leaders who wanted to avoid the slavery issue. Second, growth of the organization in Maine attracted into the movement experienced politicians who indifferently stated Know-Nothing doctrines and values while striving to draw the organization into a new political party then forming in the state. By mid-spring of 1855, these two developments set the stage for the decline of Know-Nothingism as a distinctive movement in Maine.

A controversy within the American order in Maine as well as in the entire country arose over slavery after a two-week convention of the grand national council in Cincinnati in November 1854. Delegates from twenty-two states there adopted a new ritual, changed passwords and signs, and determined the process by which to select a presidential nominee in 1856.<sup>90</sup>

The dominant figure at this meeting was Kenneth Rayner, a forty-five-year-old member of the North Carolina state senate. This eloquent and persuasive orator had served three terms from 1839 to 1845 as a Whig congressman. Although an owner of many slaves and a staunch defender of Southern interests, he was also a nationalist, deeply committed to American unity.<sup>91</sup>

Rayner had come to believe the American party would benefit from a formal rejection of charges being made in the South that the Know-Nothing organization was opposed to slavery and that Southern states should secede from the Union. As Rayner travelled to the Cincinnati meeting, he formed the idea of proposing that the national council adopt a "Third Degree" for American party members, by which they would profess their loyalty to national unity.

At Cincinnati, Rayner persuaded both Northern and Southern delegates to take such an oath. In an imposing ceremony, he administered this third, or — as it was popularly called — “Union” degree, which bound each recipient “to adhere to, defend, and maintain the Unity of the States against any and all assaults, from all and every quarter, without any condition, stipulation, or limitation.” Possessors of this degree were designated brothers of the “Order of the American Union.”<sup>92</sup>

The Cincinnati meeting came during a period when the Know-Nothing requirement of secrecy regarding the proceedings of the order was well maintained. Therefore, no list of the composition of the national council appeared. Only two members of the Maine delegation have been identified.

One of them was William Chaney, the thirty-three-year-old demagogic leader of the American movement in Ellsworth and Hancock County where the Know-Nothing order had its greatest power in Maine. Chaney opposed slavery but showed little interest in the subject. The several years that he had spent a decade earlier in the slave South led him to believe that Northerners exaggerated the evil of slavery. A number of slaves, he maintained, revered their masters, and many slaveholders treated their bondsmen kindly and humanely.<sup>93</sup> Chaney also condemned as too extreme the policies and tactics of Northern abolitionists.<sup>94</sup> Thus, the opportunistic Chaney, who eagerly sought acceptance by famous national leaders of the Know-Nothing order and wanted the movement to continue emphasizing anti-Irish and anti-Catholic issues, found no difficulty in accepting the Union degree.

The second man identifiable in the Maine delegation was forty-six-year-old Rodney G. Lincoln, an aggressive Hallowell broker and banker who had become both the

judge advocate and the grand scribe of the Maine organization.<sup>95</sup> During the September 1854 election campaign, he had helped manage the gubernatorial effort of Anson P. Morrill and had himself gained election to the Maine House of Representatives.<sup>96</sup>

Lincoln's family had a strong antislavery tradition. His father, Laban Lincoln, had for decades been a successful Hallowell builder who took pride in being "a despised abolitionist."<sup>97</sup> Laban had once been attacked by a local mob for opposing slavery. Rodney's late father-in-law, a Scottish-born tailor and deacon in the town's Old South Church, also had ruffled Hallowell residents by assisting the first fugitive slave who travelled through the community and by entertaining the famous Troy, New York, Black minister and abolitionist, the Reverend Henry Highland Garnet.<sup>98</sup>

Rodney Lincoln abandoned his family's and his own twenty-year active identification with the antislavery movement<sup>99</sup> to join Chaney and other Maine delegates at the national council meeting in affirming the Union degree that entailed subsequent public avoidance of the slavery issue.

Publicity of the proslavery position adopted by the national council was slow to appear. Many individual members of the order in Maine and other states did not realize the practical implications of the Union degree because slavery was not explicitly mentioned in the oath. The Know-Nothing requirement of secrecy further limited public knowledge of the Cincinnati proceedings. Gradually, however, rumors and hints about the significance of the oath reached newspapers. Confirmation of a proslavery interpretation of the oath came when Northern Know-Nothing journals and specific leaders — even those, such as Rodney Lincoln, who had previously been identified with antislavery views — strove to avoid the national controversy over slavery.

Rumors of the Cincinnati decision brought protests from both Northern Know-Nothings and their critics. Austin Willey, a leading Maine abolitionist and proprietor of the *Portland Inquirer*, declared on January 21, 1855, that Know-Nothingism had hurt the state and national antislavery movements by diverting public attention away from slavery. Diminished circulation for antislavery papers and reduced participation in the emancipation cause occurred as men became immersed in Know-Nothing activities. But the recent policy adopted by the national council was even worse: "Not an inch of ground," he declared, "was left at Cincinnati for antislavery to stand on, but every thing shaped intentionally to exclude it."

Over the winter of 1854 and '55, protest grew throughout the North against the national council's decision on slavery. In Maine, lodges in Bangor and Brewer urged the brotherhood to resist slavery and advocate temperance instead of narrowly focusing upon immigration, Catholicism, and intersectional harmony and unity. To promote a united stand among Maine Know-Nothings, the Bangor council — which had many antislavery advocates<sup>100</sup> — unanimously declared,

WHEREAS, Recent developments in the political action of this Order, indicate a disposition in some places, to ignore the subjects of Slavery and Temperance, considering them as side issues, having no political connections with our Organization; this COUNCIL, wishing to express its disapprobation of such sentiments in the most unqualified manner do unanimously adopt the following resolutions, viz.:

RESOLVED, 1st. That the new party to which we owe our allegiance is not based on one idea alone, but comprehends and should always act in reference to, every principle that will promote the moral and political welfare of a free people.

RESOLVED, 2d. That the Declaration of Independence, the tone and tenor of the Constitution, the Ordinance of 1787, the words and deeds of the founders of this Republic, all indicate that our Forefathers intended that Slavery should be sectional, not national — temporary, not permanent.

RESOLVED, 3d. That NATIVE-AMERICANISM, ANTI-SLAVERY, AND TEMPERANCE, are the foundation stones of our Order, equally deserving our consideration — and that before giving our political support to any one man for any office, we will imperatively demand his entire committal in favor of these great and cardinal principles.

RESOLVED, 4th. That we solemnly protest against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise — the passage of the Nebraska-Kansas bill, and the Fugitive Slave Law — as violations of the rights of the Free States, and tending to the destruction of the free institutions of our country.

RESOLVED, 5th. That we pledge ourselves to use our utmost exertions to free our National Territories from the curse of Slavery, and that we will never consent, under any circumstances, to the admission of another Slave-State to this Union.

RESOLVED, 6th. That any attempt to commit our Order in the Free States to the advancement of the interests of slavery, — to ignore it as a *side* issue — or to enjoin silence upon us, in respect to its evils and encroachments — deserves and receives our sternest disapprobation and dissent.<sup>101</sup>

The Brewer council of the order soon thereafter passed and published resolutions almost duplicating the Bangor statement.<sup>102</sup> The *Hallowell Gazette* endorsed the Bangor platform and hoped the entire order in Maine would approve it.<sup>103</sup> A meeting of the state council on May 28 and 29 endorsed the Bangor chapter's principles, and a seven-man delegation chosen there espoused them at a meeting of the national council in Philadelphia in June.<sup>104</sup>

While slavery engendered conflict within the Know-Nothing movement in Maine and other states, internal developments also troubled the brotherhood in the Pine Tree State. In January 1855, Anson P. Morrill began his term as governor and the leader of a coalition including Know-Nothings as well as Free-Soil advocates, temperance apostles, and disaffected Whigs and Democrats.

It is uncertain whether Morrill was a Know-Nothing. Opposition newspapers declared that he was, and two



Know-Nothing lodges angrily voted his expulsion in May 1855,<sup>105</sup> but he did not publicly acknowledge membership, and the evidence is not substantial that he was.

But Morrill's political ascent in 1854 and early '55 was nevertheless related to the American movement. He personally appeared in Bangor, Augusta, and Portland when Maine Know-Nothing conventions were meeting.<sup>106</sup> Also, a number of his advisers — such as Rodney Lincoln of Hallowell, Elder Benjamin Peck of Portland, Louis O. Cowan of Biddeford,<sup>107</sup> and John Sayward and John Leavitt Stevens of Augusta<sup>108</sup> — were members of the order. During the summer of 1854, Peck, Lincoln, and other Morrill aides had organized lodges in Maine and persuaded their members to support Morrill.

Governor Morrill and his associates transformed the Know-Nothing movement in Maine. These men did not share the "true-believer" devotion of some in the American order. Too experienced in political, temperance, and antislavery reform activities to be starry-eyed about any specific organization, they regarded the Know-Nothings as merely one institutional form to affect public policy.<sup>109</sup>

The influence of these men appeared in several ways. First, the governor made little effort to reward Know-Nothings for their considerable political help in the past autumn's election. Outside his circle of Know-Nothing friends, he did not provide many jobs or honors for members of the order. Even worse, according to true believers, he appointed to his administration men who had not been admitted to the second degree of Know-Nothingism. The constitution of the order stipulated that only holders of that degree might be appointed by a fellow Know-Nothing to public office.

Morrill and his associates also moved forward purposefully in winter of 1854 and '55 to fashion a new

permanent political alignment out of the temporary coalition that had brought his victory. A February 22 meeting in Augusta thus organized the Republican party in Maine. A majority of the delegates at the meeting were Know-Nothings.<sup>110</sup>

Nativist newspapers in Maine overwhelmingly supported this development. Voting results in September 1855 elections also demonstrated public approval for the move.<sup>111</sup> But Morrill's political course weakened the American party. Although the order continued to operate, the line between Know-Nothings and Republicans blurred: statewide leaders and newspapers in the American order also worked for Republicans, and similar platforms and policies were adopted by the two groups.<sup>112</sup> The emerging Republican movement retained a nativist disposition, but its leaders also adopted positions on such main-line political issues as tariffs, banks, land, slavery, and foreign relations, so as to present a broader public appeal than had the American party.

The Morrill developments did not go unrecognized and unopposed. William Chaney, who had in January started a new weekly newspaper — the *Ellsworth American* — to support the Know-Nothing order, protested the dilution of the American movement. He accurately pointed out the modification of the original organization and the violations of the order's constitution. He argued that nativist ideals were diminishing in favor of side issues dealing with slavery, temperance, and political compromise.<sup>113</sup>

Scattered individuals and certain lodges throughout Maine shared Chaney's views, but the dissenters lacked the power, influence, and prestige of the new Know-Nothing leaders in 1855. Among newspapers, only Chaney's *Ellsworth American* opposed the absorption of the movement within the Republican party.<sup>114</sup> Otherwise, important Know-Nothing and nativist papers — like the

*Union and Eastern Journal* operated by Louis O. Cowan in Biddeford, the *Kennebec Journal* conducted by John Sayward and John Stevens in Augusta, and the *Maine Temperance Journal* directed by Elder Benjamin Peck in Portland, as well as other papers — embraced the new movement. Thus the Morrill circle used superior access to, and shrewdness in, political maneuvering and newspaper reporting to transform the movement while Chaney and a non-organized minority of Know-Nothings protested ineffectually.<sup>115</sup>

Even as the Know-Nothing order in Maine boldly spoke out against slavery, enjoyed at least nominal association with the new Morrill administration in Augusta, and won March 1855 elections in many towns and cities, defections from the movement began to occur.<sup>116</sup> Several factors explain this development which proceeded slowly at first and then accelerated.

First, the just-cited policies of Governor Morrill and his advisers alienated certain true believers in the American order who objected to the modification of the original constitution and regulations.

Second, the Know-Nothing movement had originated in part to protest against certain of the political practices of that age. Wire-pulling politicians, sordid patronage, candidates for hire, arrogant officeholders, indifference to patriotic Americans — politics as usual had drawn the wrath of the initiators of the organization.<sup>117</sup> The movement of such seasoned, old-style politicians as Sayward, Stevens, Cowan, and Peck into not merely membership but leadership and power undermined the Know-Nothing claim of being a unique reform movement.

Another Know-Nothing problem arose from the conflicting relation between their goals and their support. On one hand, a number of the policies of the American order — such as reforming naturalization laws,

combatting corruption in the federal bureaucracy, deporting immigrant paupers, and encouraging emigration of newcomers — could take place only at the national level of government. Although claiming to have about seventy members of Congress in their ranks by 1855,<sup>118</sup> Know-Nothings lacked the votes and influence in Congress to enact their programs. The emotional divisiveness of the slavery controversy further made it difficult for Know-Nothings of the North and South to cooperate in a national movement.

On the other hand, Know-Nothings were best organized in towns and villages. The order enjoyed considerable success in March 1855 elections in Maine in electing selectmen, treasurers, members of school boards, and other local offices. Except for public schools and temperance matters, the daily concerns of these community officials did not generally and immediately relate to Know-Nothingism. Repairing roads and aiding paupers, after all, did not directly pertain to Know-Nothing ideology.

Thus, Know-Nothings could not easily resolve certain functional problems. Their issues and concerns had a national focus, but their success and influence came predominantly at the community, rather than the national or state, level of government and society. This functional dilemma brought sufficient personal frustration and malaise for certain members to leave the movement.

Even the mundane choice of topics and activities for lodge meetings posed problems. At the approach of town elections in March 1855 and state contests in September 1854 and September 1855, political concerns would hold increased importance. Members would consider personalities, candidate attractiveness, tactics, and — to be sure — issues. But these matters little differed from preparations made by conventional political parties.<sup>119</sup>

Furthermore, traditional parties addressed national as well as local issues. Unlike the American order, however, those parties had sufficient organizational strength and numbers to require them to consider the responsibilities of possibly holding office or seeing their programs seriously debated, if not instituted. But the Know-Nothings lacked enough national support and unity to face such responsibilities.

Two blunt questions therefore arose. What would engage the interest and enthusiasm of local lodge members once the basic membership had been determined and the next election would not occur for another five months? And, how many tirades against the Pope, the Irish, conniving priests, wire-pulling politicians, and “the atheistical red republicans and socialists from Germany, France, and other countries — pouring in upon us”<sup>120</sup> could a Know-Nothing farmer in Surry or a Camden carpenter cheer?

The Know-Nothings in Maine further lost public appeal by revelations about misuse of power. Such reports showed that the movement — in spite of self-portrayals as a new moral reform force — contained its share of calculating and self-interested members. In addition to the policies indentified with the Morrill administration, the most important cases involved the judge advocate and grand scribe of the organization, Rodney Lincoln, who had been known as the “chief mogul” of the order during the autumn of 1854 and winter of 1855.<sup>121</sup>

An important instance of Lincoln’s controversial behavior came to public notice on the eve of an important meeting of the state council in Bangor on May 26 and 27. George M. Atwood, a politically opportunistic and ambitious Gardiner bookseller who had been the treasurer of the Maine movement,<sup>122</sup> wrote a letter to delegates to the council making severe criticisms of Lincoln. After

joining the organization in the summer of 1854, Atwood had spent three weeks campaigning before the September election. In that month, he had been chosen by the state council to become treasurer.

After the September election, Lincoln — who lived in Hallowell only three miles away — snubbed Atwood. Lincoln neglected to inform him of important meetings. More seriously, Lincoln violated the constitution of the order by failing to transfer funds to him, and the judge advocate himself took over management of many financial duties. After his repeated protests had been ignored, Atwood resigned in March.

A few days before the important council meeting in May, Atwood delivered to members a detailed accusation of his treatment by Lincoln. The Atwood charges were publicized by newspapers eager to hurt the Know-Nothing movement.<sup>123</sup> The complaints revealed irregular procedures, hardly consistent with a reform crusade, to tarnish further the public image of the movement.

Rodney Lincoln was also involved in another episode which newspapers hostile to the Know-Nothings publicized to show the insidious character of the movement and the obtrusive disposition of one of its dominant officers. Thus Lincoln, the grand scribe of the order, sent a letter to every lodge in the state during the spring of 1855 instructing each twig to answer the following questions:

- What is the number of your Council?
- When and by whom instituted?
- How many members, April 1st, 1855?
- Who is president?
- Who is secretary?
- Who are delegates [to the State Council]?
- How often do you meet?
- Is there *harmony* in the order?
- Are you adding to your numbers?
- Are there members who violate their obligation?

Does general interest continue in the order?  
 Have any been expelled?  
 Have any been dismissed?  
 What is the whole number of voters in your town?  
 Are there strong opponents to the order?  
 Please give the *names* of some of the most prominent and *dangerous*?  
 Are you in favor of electing State and county officers by the people,  
 as recommended by the Legislature?  
 How many Foreigners in your town?  
 What proportions are *Catholick* [*sic*]?  
 What proportions are naturalized?  
 Do they generally vote?  
 Is there a Catholick priest in your town?  
 Is there a Catholick Church?  
 What proportion of your pauper expenses are chargeable to  
 foreigners, directly or indirectly?  
 Is your *Post Master* friendly or opposed to the order?<sup>124</sup>

It was also reported that following the 1854 election, members of a Kennebec County lodge were summoned in groups of twelve before Lincoln at their meeting hall. Every man was compelled to state under oath how he had voted. Each of the eight to ten members who acknowledged voting for one of Morrill's opponents was expelled from the Know-Nothing lodge.<sup>125</sup>

Public revelations of the Atwood-Lincoln dispute, Lincoln's obtrusive poll, and his imposition of a orthodoxy in voting exemplified the growing investigation of the organization by critical Maine newspapers. Beginning in the spring of 1855 a number of journals sought out problems and abuses in the movement to expose. One such paper was the *Bangor Journal*, a Whig periodical, but most were Democrat papers, particularly the *Maine Democrat* in Saco, the *Age* in Augusta, the *Eastern Argus* in Portland, and the *Republican Journal* and the *Maine Free Press*, two publications in Belfast. Exposés published by one paper were then reprinted along what came to be called the "Clothes-line dispatch," or "telegraph." Opposition newspapers, together with organized anti-

Know-Nothing local societies – such as the Biddeford association<sup>126</sup> – provided rallying points around which dissent might grow.

Local criticism mushroomed just as the American order suffered a fatal blow on the national level. A national council meeting occurred in Philadelphia in June 1855. There the organization's internal conflict on slavery broke into public bitterness.<sup>127</sup> Southern and certain Northern delegations – such as New York's – used their majority to pass resolutions forbidding criticism of slavery. The Maine delegation of Peck, Sayward, Stevens, Cowan, A. S. Richmond of Rockland, James M. Lincoln of Bath, and Josiah Covill of Jay, helped lead antislavery Northern members in walking out of the convention.<sup>128</sup>

Know-Nothings throughout Maine supported their delegates and declared the soundness of their state and local organizations. The collapse of the original Know-Nothing movement over the slavery issue, however, impaired the institution in Maine. The growing public revelations of the prejudice, abuses, decline of idealism, and increase of defectors provided little reason for the organization to continue. Although conventions in August and November 1855 continued the American party in Maine, most members followed their state leadership into the developing Republican party.<sup>129</sup> By December 1855, one of the few resisters of the trend, William Chaney, found in Ellsworth that subscriptions to his Know-Nothing paper had virtually disappeared, and he had to sell his newspaper, the *American*, which, under new proprietorship, promptly entered the Republican ranks. Chaney then departed for New Bedford where he tried briefly and unsuccessfully to keep alive the movement in Massachusetts.

The national elections in Maine in September 1856 clearly demonstrated the demise of the Know-Nothing



movement in the state. Former President Millard Fillmore, the choice of the remaining American party members for chief executive, attracted only 3 percent of the Maine vote: Fillmore received 3,270 votes to Republican candidate Fremont's 67,377, and the national victor, Democrat James Buchanan's 38,170.<sup>130</sup> Former centers of the Know-Nothing movement in 1854 and '55 voted strongly for Republican candidates. Fillmore thus attracted only 11 out of Ellsworth's 761 votes cast, none of Surry's 208, 6 out of Hancock's 156, 35 of 712 in Camden, 28 of 964 in Belfast, 45 of 1,223 in Rockland, 48 of 603 in Richmond, 39 of 422 in Boothbay, and 44 out of 440 in Wiscasset.

Counties switched allegiance from Know-Nothings to Republicans. Hancock County produced only 161 votes for Fillmore out of 5,974 cast, or 2.7 percent of the total; Waldo County provided Fillmore with 114 votes out of 8,411 cast, or 1.4 percent; Sagadahoc County had 397 Fillmore votes out of 8,925 cast, or 4.4 percent; and York County provided Fillmore with 154 out of 11,844 votes cast, or 1.3 percent.<sup>131</sup>

Thus the alarm that Know-Nothingism had posed for the Reverend Asa Dalton and other Maine liberals in July 1854 had faded after the winter and spring of 1855. Narrow prejudice, internal power struggles, the inability of the national movement to produce an acceptable position on slavery, growing public opposition, and the attractiveness of the broader-based new Republican party drew members away from their dark-lantern meetings in garrets into more-traditional political channels. Nativism, temperance, antislavery, and various forms of social prejudice had certainly not disappeared, but the peculiar orthodoxy of Know-Nothingism had proven wanting in Maine.

## NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Ninety-Fourth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Maine: 1913* (Brunswick: The Record Press, 1913), p. 42; unidentified newspaper clipping [1903], untitled scrap book, 67-223-12, p. 136, Maine Historical Society. The author wishes to acknowledge the financial assistance rendered on this project by a grant from the Faculty Research Committee of the University of Southern Maine.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Codman, *Reverend Asa Dalton, D.D., In Memoriam* (n.p., 1912), pp. 7-9.

<sup>3</sup> *The History of Augusta, from the Earliest Settlements to the Present Time* (Augusta: Clapp and North, 1870), p. 529.

<sup>4</sup> *Portland Evening Express and Daily Advertiser*, August 30, 1912; (Portland) *Daily Eastern Argus*, August 30, 1912. The Reverend Dalton would later have one of the longest tenures of any American clergyman by serving forty-nine years as rector of St. Stephens Episcopal Church in Portland.

<sup>5</sup> Codman, *Reverend Asa Dalton, D.D.*, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> *The History of Augusta*, p. 529.

<sup>7</sup> (Augusta) *Age*, July 13, 1854.

<sup>8</sup> Allan R. Whitmore, "Portrait of a Maine 'Know-Nothing,'" *Maine Historical Society Quarterly*, 14 (Summer 1974): 40-42.

<sup>9</sup> Father O'Donnell's letter also appears in *Boston Pilot*, July 1, 1854.

<sup>10</sup> Whitmore, "Portrait of a Maine 'Know-Nothing,'" p. 42.

<sup>11</sup> (Portland) *State of Maine*, October 21, 1854.

<sup>12</sup> There were about 30,000 Catholics in Maine in 1855. The population of the Pine Tree State in 1850 was 583,169. (William Leo Lucey, *The Catholic Church in Maine* (Francestown, N.H.: Marshall Jones Co., 1957), pp. 156-57.

<sup>13</sup> *Portland Daily Advertiser*, September 14, 1854; *New York Daily Times*, January 27, 1854; (Hartford) *Times*, October 18, 1854, quoted in Carroll John Noonan, *Nativism in Connecticut: 1829-1860* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1938), pp. 274-75; Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938), pp. 305-307.

<sup>14</sup> (New York) *Irish-American*, June 17, 1854.

<sup>15</sup> (Bath) *Weekly Mirror*, July 14, 1854; (Bath) *Northern Tribune*, July 14, 1854; (Portland) *Maine Temperance Journal*, July 15, 1854; *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, July 12, 13, 1854.

<sup>16</sup> *Bangor Daily Journal*, September 4, 1854; *Boston Pilot*, September 2, 1854.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, July 8, 1854.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, June 10, 1854.

<sup>19</sup> (Biddeford) *Union and Eastern Journal*, April 6, 1855.

<sup>20</sup> David Herbert Donald, *Liberty and Union* (Lexington: D.C. Heath and Co., 1978), p. 62.

<sup>21</sup> *The New York City Directory for 1852-1853* (New York: Charles R. Rode, 1852), p. 26; Henry Wilson, comp., *The Directory of the City of New York, for 1852-1853* (New York: John F. Trow, 1852), p. 27; Henry Wilson, comp., *The Directory of the City of New York, for 1853-1854* (New York: John F. Trow, 1853), p. 27. (Hereinafter cited as *Trow's New York City Directory*.)

<sup>22</sup> Louis Dow Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York State* (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1901), pp. 65-67, 82.

<sup>23</sup> Henry Wilson, ed., *Trow's New York City Directory, for 1853-1854*, p. 46; *The New York City Directory for 1852-1853* (New York: Charles R. Rode, 1852), p. 42.

<sup>24</sup> Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860*, p. 381.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 382.

<sup>26</sup> (Saco) *Maine Democrat*, March 20, 1855.

<sup>27</sup> Billington, p. 382.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 387.

<sup>29</sup> (Portland) *Maine Temperance Journal*, July 8, 1854.

<sup>30</sup> (Cincinnati) *Daily Enquirer*, August 20, 1854; (Lewiston) *Democratic Advocate*, September 7, 1854; (Bangor) *Democrat*, October 10, 1854; *Boston Post*, October 25, 1854.

<sup>31</sup> (Saco) *Maine Democrat*, March 20, 1855.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, March 13, 1855.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, (Bath) *Eastern Times*, September 28, 1854.

<sup>34</sup> See, for examples, (Bath) *Weekly Mirror*, April 28, 1854; (Portland) *Maine Temperance Journal*, July 1, 1854; (Dover) *Piscataquis Observer*, August 31, 1854.

<sup>35</sup> (Bath) *Weekly Mirror*, May 12, 1854.

<sup>36</sup> (Belfast) *Republican Journal*, July 21, 1854.

<sup>37</sup> On Ellsworth's nativism and William Chaney, see Whitmore, "Portrait of a Maine 'Know-Nothing.'"

<sup>38</sup> On Morrill, see Robert E. Moody, "Morrill, Anson Peaslee," *DAB* (1934), and "Gov. Anson P. Morrill," in Henry Chase, ed., *Representative*

*Men of Maine* (Portland: The Lakeside Press, 1893), p. xxxiii; also see the critical series, "History of the Morrill Dynasty," in (Belfast) *Maine Free Press*, April 12, 19, 26, May 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, 1855.

<sup>39</sup> Quote reprinted in (Philadelphia) *Public Ledger*, September 22, 1854.

<sup>40</sup> *Bangor Journal*, September 14, 1854.

<sup>41</sup> On Buntline, see Jay Monaghan, *The Great Rascal: The Exploits of the Amazing Ned Buntline* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1951).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 34-205 *passim*.

<sup>43</sup> *Boston Pilot*, February 4, 1854; (Bath) *Weekly Mirror*, April 28, 1854. Buntline developed his nativist views in (Biddeford) *Union and Eastern Journal*, August 24, 1855.

<sup>44</sup> *New Buntline's Own*, August 27, 1853.

<sup>45</sup> *Stamford Mirror*, September 23, 1884; (Bath) *Eastern Times*, August 3, 1884.

<sup>46</sup> *Boston Pilot*, February 18, 1854; *New Buntline's Own*, December 10, 1853.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, March 4, 1854.

<sup>48</sup> (Augusta) *Kennebec Journal*, August 11, 1854; *Portland Inquirer*, August 31, 1854; (Belfast) *Progressive Age*, December 22, 1854; January 19, 1855; *Bangor Journal*, March 22, April 5, 1855; (Bangor) *Democrat*, January 9, November 13, 1855; (Portland) *Eastern Argus*, August 6, 22, 1855.

<sup>49</sup> *Stamford Mirror*, September 23, 1884; (Bath) *Eastern Times*, August 3, 1884.

<sup>50</sup> (Saco) *Maine Democrat*, August 22, 1854.

<sup>51</sup> *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, September 19, 20, 1854; John Daly Fleming, *Richmond on the Kennebec* (Richmond: Richmond Historical Commission, 1966), p. 100.

<sup>52</sup> (Saco) *Maine Democrat*, September 11, 1855.

<sup>53</sup> (Biddeford) *Union and Eastern Journal*, April 6, 1855.

<sup>54</sup> *Eastport Sentinel*, March 28, 1855.

<sup>55</sup> *Ellsworth American*, March 30, 1855.

<sup>56</sup> (Belfast) *Progressive Age*, March 22, 1855; *Portland Daily Advertiser*, March 23, 1855.

<sup>57</sup> (Belfast) *Progressive Age*, March 22, 1855.

<sup>58</sup> (Biddeford) *Union and Eastern Journal*, March 9, 1855.

<sup>59</sup> *Portland Daily Advertiser*, March 15, 1855.

<sup>60</sup> *Bangor Jeffersonian*, March 13, 1855; *Bangor Journal*, March 29, 1855.

<sup>61</sup> *Portland Inquirer*, March 29, 1855.

<sup>62</sup> *Portland Daily Advertiser*, March 14, 1855; *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, March 16, 1855; (Saco) *Maine Democrat*, March 27, 1855.

<sup>63</sup> (Belfast) *Progressive Age*, March 29, 1855.

<sup>64</sup> *Bangor Jeffersonian*, March 13, 1855.

<sup>65</sup> *Portland Daily Advertiser*, March 29, 1855.

<sup>66</sup> (Bath) *Eastern Times*, July 10, 1855.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, August 9, 1855.

<sup>68</sup> (Portland) *Eastern Argus*, September 7, 8, 1854.

<sup>69</sup> John L. Locke, *Sketches of the History of the Town of Camden, Maine* (Hallowell: Masters, Smith & Co., 1859), p. 188.

<sup>70</sup> (Saco) *Maine Democrat*, May 29, 1855.

<sup>71</sup> Edwin Emery, *The History of Stamford, Maine: 1661-1900*, compiled, edited, and arranged by William Morrell Emery (Fall River: William Morrell Emery, 1901), p. 372.

<sup>72</sup> *Ellsworth American*, July 13, 1855.

<sup>73</sup> (Belfast) *Progressive Age*, August 16, 1855.

<sup>74</sup> (Portland) *State of Maine*, September 6, 1854; (Bath) *Eastern Times*, September 28, 1854.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, August 9, 1855.

<sup>76</sup> *Bangor Journal*, May 31, 1855.

<sup>77</sup> George Adams, *Maine Register and Business Directory, for the Year 1856* (South Berwick: Edward C. Parks, n.d.), p. 83.

<sup>78</sup> The Portland *State of Maine*, a Whig paper, and that city's *Eastern Argus*, a Democratic journal, ascribed the Democratic defeat in Maine principally to Know-Nothings. (Newburyport) *Daily Herald*, September 13, 1854.)

<sup>79</sup> (New York) *Citizen*, April 7, 1855, commentary and reprint of note in *Portland Transcript*, March 24, 1855.

<sup>80</sup> *Ellsworth Herald*, March 3, 1854.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, April 7, 1854.

<sup>82</sup> *Ellsworth American*, August 3, 1855.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, January 12, 1855.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ellsworth Herald*, March 3, 1854.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, March 17, 1854.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, April 21, 1854.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> The men participating in the rallies are identified in *ibid.*, January – October, 1854 *passim*. The Joseph A. Deane Journals are in the possession of the Hon. Herbert T. Silsby II, Ellsworth.

<sup>90</sup> *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, November 21, 25, 1854; (Bellast) *Maine Free Press*, November 23, 1854; *Boston Pilot*, December 2, 1854.

<sup>91</sup> J.G. deR. Hamilton, "Rayner, Kenneth," *DAB* (1935); *New York Times*, March 6, 1884; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress: 1774-1971*, 92d Cong., 1st sess., Senate Document No. 92-8 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 1589.

<sup>92</sup> Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, 3d ed., 2 vols. (Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1875), 2: 420-22.

<sup>93</sup> *New Bedford Express*, November 13, 1856.

<sup>94</sup> *Ellsworth Herald*, May 25, June 9, 1854.

<sup>95</sup> (Augusta) *Age*, March 1, 15, 1855; *Bangor Journal*, February 8, 1855.

<sup>96</sup> *Portland Daily Advertiser*, March 20, 1855.

<sup>97</sup> Emma Huntington Mason, *Old Hallowell on the Kennebec* (Augusta: Press of Burleigh & Flint, 1909), p. 175.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 166-67.

<sup>99</sup> (Augusta) *Age*, March 15, 1855.

<sup>100</sup> (Bangor) *Democrat*, February 6, 1855.

<sup>101</sup> *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, February 2, 1855.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, February 26, 1855.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, March 13, 1855.

<sup>104</sup> *Bangor Journal*, June 7, 1855; *Portland Inquirer*, June 14, 1855.

<sup>105</sup> *Bangor Journal*, January 18, May 24, 1855; (Bangor) *Democrat*, May 29, 1855.

<sup>106</sup> (Saco) *Maine Democrat*, June 5, 1855.

<sup>107</sup> On Cowan, see (Biddetford) *Union and Eastern Journal*, March 6, 1863, and (Saco) *Maine Democrat*, March 3, 10, 1863.

<sup>108</sup> (Bangor) *Democrat*, July 17, 1855; Thomas M. Spaulding, "Stevens, John Leavitt," *DAB* (1935); "John L. Stevens," *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Proceedings of the Maine Press Association for the Year Ending May 1, 1893* (Bar Harbor: Maine Coast Cottager Office, 1893), pp. 30-33.

<sup>109</sup> For example, see references to the Reverend Peck in Frank L. Byrne, *Prophet of Prohibition: Neal Dow and His Crusade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1961; reprinted, Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1969), p. 48. For Peck's irregular conduct as state treasurer, he would be forced from office at the beginning of 1860. (See *Portland Transcript*, January 14, March 24, 1860, and *Report of the Joint Select Committee on the Defalcation of Benj. D. Peck, Late Treasurer of the State of Maine* [Augusta: Stevens & Sayward, 1860], pp. 3-25 *passim*.)

<sup>110</sup> (Belfast) *Maine Free Press*, March 8, 1855.

<sup>111</sup> The June 14, 1855 *Piscataquis Observer* of Dover claimed that 95 percent of American party members supported Governor Morrill's bid for re-election in the forthcoming September election.

<sup>112</sup> (Augusta) *Age*, March 1, 1855; (Augusta) *Kennebec Journal*, March 2, 1855.

<sup>113</sup> (Bangor) *Democrat*, October 2, 1855.

<sup>114</sup> *Ellsworth American*, April 6, 1855.

<sup>115</sup> (Bangor) *Democrat*, June 5, 1855.

<sup>116</sup> See, for examples, *ibid.*, May 1, 29, August 14, 1855.

<sup>117</sup> *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, September 16, 1854; *Bangor Journal*, April 5, 1855; (Portland) *Maine Temperance Journal*, June 3, December 16, 23, 1854; *Ellsworth Herald*, December 1, 1854; *Ellsworth American*, January 19, 1855; (Augusta) *Kennebec Journal*, January 19, 1855; Austin Willey, *The History of the Antislavery Cause in State and Nation* (Portland: Brown Thurston and Hoyt, Fogg and Dunham, 1886), p. 432.

<sup>118</sup> See Billington, *The Protestant Crusade*, p. 388; W.S. Tisdale, *The Know Nothing Almanac and True American's Manual for 1856* (New York: Author, 1856), p. 67; W. Darrell Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), pp. 162-67.

<sup>119</sup> For a revealing commentary on this problem in the Worcester, Massachusetts, lodge, see George H. Haynes, "A Chapter from the Local History of Knownothingism," *The New England Magazine*, n.s., 15 (October 1896): 87-88.

<sup>120</sup> (Belfast) *Republican Journal*, March 1, 1855.

<sup>121</sup> (Augusta) *Age*, March 1, 1855.

<sup>122</sup> (South Paris) *Oxford Democrat*, March 7, 1856; *Ellsworth American*, May 18, 1855.

<sup>123</sup> *Bangor Journal*, June 7, 1855; (Belfast) *Republican Journal*, June 8, 1855.

<sup>124</sup> *Bangor Journal*, May 31, 1855.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> (Saco) *Maine Democrat*, June 12, July 24, August 7, 1855.

<sup>127</sup> Billington, *The Protestant Crusade*, pp. 426-28.

<sup>128</sup> *Portland Daily Advertiser*, June 18, 1855; (Portland) *Eastern Argus*, June 16, 1855; *New-York Daily Times*, June 8, 1855; *New-York Daily Tribune*, June 15, 1855.

<sup>129</sup> (Augusta) *Kennebec Journal*, August 31, 1855; (Portland) *Journal and Inquirer*, December 8, 1855.

<sup>130</sup> Edward Parks, *The Maine Register for 1857* (Portland: Author, n.d.), p. 91.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 183-90.

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